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MATERIELLE KULTUR UND IDENTITÄT IM SPANNUNGSFELD ZWISCHEN MEDITERRANER WELT UND MITTELEUROPA

MATERIAL CULTURE AND IDENTITY BETWEEN THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD AND CENTRAL EUROPE

Akten der Internationalen Tagung am Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz, 22.-24. Oktober 2014
Abschlusstagung des DFG-Projekts »Metallfunde als Zeugnis für die Interaktion zwischen Griechen und Indigenen auf Sizilien zwischen dem 8. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.«

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INHALT

VORWORT

Vom 22. bis 24. Oktober 2014 fand am Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum in Mainz die internationale Tagung »Materielle Kultur und Identität im Spannungsfeld zwischen mediterraner Welt und Mitteleuropa« (»Material Culture and Identity between the Mediterranean World and Central Europe«) statt, in deren Rahmen 22 Referenten aus sechs Nationen fächerübergreifend die Bedeutung der materiellen Kultur für die Rekonstruktion von Identitäten diskutierten. Diese Tagung bildete zugleich den Abschluss des am RGZM angesiedelten Forschungsprojekts »Metallfunde als Zeugnis für die Interaktion zwischen Griechen und Indigenen auf Sizilien zwischen dem 8. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.« (»Metal Objects as Evidence for the Interaction between Greeks and Indigenous People in Archaic Sicily [8th to 5th centuries B.C.]«), das über einen Zeitraum von drei Jahren hinweg von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft gefördert wurde[1]. Ziel war es, die im Projekt erzielten Ergebnisse in einen größeren, überregionalen Zusammenhang zu stellen und mit Spezialisten aus anderen Ländern, aber auch aus anderen Fachdisziplinen zu diskutieren. Der geographische Rahmen der Vorträge reichte von Griechenland über Sizilien und Unteritalien bis nach Frankreich und Mitteleuropa, versuchte also kulturvergleichend einen großen geographischen Raum in den Blick zu nehmen und Vertreter von Klassischer Archäologie, Alter Geschichte, Vor- und Frühgeschichte und Numismatik zusammenzuführen.

Das RGZM besitzt eine sehr lange Forschungstradition in kulturvergleichenden Studien zwischen dem Mittelmeerraum und Mitteleuropa, insbesondere in der späten Bronze- und der Eisenzeit. Bereits der Gründungsdirektor des Museums, Ludwig Lindenschmit d. Ä., setzte sich im 19. Jahrhundert mit griechischen und etruskischen Importgütern in frühlatènezeitlichen Prunkgräbern Süddeutschlands auseinander. Für Paul Reinecke – von 1897 bis 1907 Wissenschaftlicher Assistent am RGZM – lieferten mediterrane Importe unverzichtbare Fixpunkte für seine bahnbrechenden Studien zur Chronologie der Metallzeiten in der Zone nordwärts der Alpen. Später haben beispielsweise Friedrich-Wilhelm von Hase, Peter Schauer, Imma Kilian und Markus Egg diese Tradition fortgeführt und weiterentwickelt. Es ist kein Zufall, dass sich heute eines der »Forschungsfelder« des RGZM explizit dem Thema »Kulturkontakte«[2] widmet.

Die Idee zu dieser Tagung entstand während der Bearbeitung von Metallobjekten aus griechischen und indigenen Fundstätten archaischer Zeit auf Sizilien, deren weit gestreute Herkunftsregionen und überwiegend fragmentarischer Charakter wichtige Fragen nach der Funktion und Bedeutung der Fundstücke im jeweiligen Kontext aufwarfen. So waren bei den Ausgrabungen der Abteilung Rom des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts auf der Agora der griechischen Koloniestadt Selinunt im Südwesten Siziliens zahlreiche Buntmetallgegenstände aus den unterschiedlichsten Regionen des Mittel- und Schwarzmeerraums zutage gekommen; sie fügten sich exakt in das Bild ein, das Stéphane Verger wenige Jahre zuvor für das Fundmaterial aus dem Demeterheiligtum von Bitalemi bei Gela an der sizilischen Südküste gezeichnet hatte. Spiegeln sich in den Herkunftsregionen der Bronzen weit reichende Kontakte und Verbindungen der griechischen *Apoikien* Selinunt und Gela wider? Lassen sich die Objekte also tatsächlich als »Identitäts-Marker« und persönliche »Botschaften« ihrer Nutzer bzw. Träger verstehen, mit denen sich fromme Pilger in Bitalemi an die Göttin Demeter wandten? Oder verbergen sich hinter diesem Fundniederschlag doch ganz andere Ursachen und Hintergründe?

Diese Fragen, die im Projekt »Metallfunde als Zeugnis für die Interaktion zwischen Griechen und Indigenen auf Sizilien zwischen dem 8. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.« analysiert wurden, reichen in ihrer Bedeutung über Sizilien hinaus und können letztlich nur in einer breiten, transdisziplinären Perspektive einer Lösung nähergebracht werden. Ein Schwerpunkt der Tagung lag deshalb am ersten Tag auf Austausch- und Akkultura-

Abb. 1 Der Generaldirektor des RGZM, Falko Daim, zwischen Elena Mango und Hans-Joachim Gehrke. – (Foto G. Rasbach).

tionsprozessen zwischen griechischen Siedlern und Einheimischen auf Sizilien. Das Thema wurde sowohl in theoretisch-methodischer Reflektion (vgl. insbesondere die Beiträge von Hans-Joachim Gehrke, Holger Baitinger / Tamar Hodos, Erich Kistler / Martin Mohr und Kerstin P. Hofmann) als auch anhand konkreter Fallbeispiele – also griechischer und indigener Fundplätze Siziliens (Siedlungen und Heiligtümern) – besprochen und diskutiert (vgl. die Beiträge von Holger Baitinger, Chiara Tarditi, Stefano Vassallo, Erich Kistler / Martin Mohr, Francesca Spatafora, Birgit Öhlinger, Nadin Burkhardt und Kerstin P. Hofmann). In der Diskussion wurde man sich der Komplexität dieser Interaktionen bewusst, aber auch der methodischen Probleme einer Bewertung archäologischer Spuren und Hinterlassenschaften. Ein besonders wichtiger Aspekt, nämlich der starke Zufluss französischer Hallstattbronzen nach Sizilien im letzten Drittel des 7. und in der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., wurde im Vortrag von Stéphane Verger beleuchtet; die früheisenzeitlichen Horte vom »Launac-Typ« im Languedoc bildeten quasi das Scharnier und die Brücke zu Brucherzdeponierungen der (späten) Bronzezeit in Mittel- und Südeuropa, die am zweiten Tag in den Fokus rückten.

Fragmentierte, häufig intentional beschädigte und zerstörte Bronzegegenstände (»Brucherz«), wie sie auf Sizilien insbesondere die Komplexe aus Selinunt und Bitalemi kennzeichnen, spielten in Alteuropa in Hortfunden der späten Bronze- und frühen Eisenzeit eine wichtige Rolle. Die Interpretation solcher Niederlegungen hat eine sehr lange und bewegte Geschichte und changiert mit allen Facetten von einfachen Gießerdepots und Versteckfunden bis hin zu sakralen Niederlegungen und Opfergaben (vgl. die Beiträge von Svend Hansen, Claudio Giardino und Markus Egg). Auffällig ist jedoch, dass in der »hortreichen« Spätbronzezeit Alteuropas auch die in anderen Epochen meist recht »metallarmen« Siedlungsplätze häufig auffallend viele Bronzeobjekte geliefert haben, ein Umstand, der sowohl für die Schweizerischen Seeufersiedlungen als auch für urnenfelderzeitliche Höhensiedlungen Mittel- und Osteuropas gilt, deren weitere Erforschung und präzisere Verortung innerhalb des Siedlungsgefüges der Spätbronzezeit ein wichtiges Desiderat darstellt (vgl. die Beiträge von Viktoria Fischer und Christoph Huth).

In eine andere Richtung zielten die Vorträge des zweiten Tages, die sich mit Fundplätzen im ägäischen Raum auseinandersetzten. Das Auftreten sizilischer und unteritalischer Metallobjekte in bedeutenden Heiligtümern der Ägäis ist ein seit langem bekanntes Phänomen, das man als Beleg für mehr oder weniger enge Kontakte des betreffenden Heiligtums in den westlichen Mittelmeerraum, ja mitunter als Hinweis auf italische Stifter oder Pilger deutet. Aber könnten diese häufig nur fragmentarisch erhaltenen Bronzeobjekte, die

insbesondere in Olympia und Delphi in größerer Zahl entdeckt wurden (vgl. den Beitrag von Hélène Aurigny), nicht auch auf Brucherzweihungen aus dem Umfeld westgriechischer Koloniestädte hinweisen, auf die Stiftung thesaurierten »Altmetalls«? Zerstörungen an Votivgaben in griechischen Heiligtümern sind bekanntlich ein geläufiges Phänomen, doch was lässt sich über den Zeitpunkt sagen, zu dem sie den Objekten zugefügt wurden? Raimon Graells i Fabregat behandelt dieses Thema exemplarisch anhand der bronzenen Brustpanzer aus Olympia, die er derzeit in einem von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft geförderten Projekt am RGZM bearbeitet. Angesichts der zahlreichen Metallfunde, die bei den Grabungen in Selinunt zutage kamen, stellte sich auch die Frage, ob andere griechische Städte archaischer Zeit ähnliche Fundhäufungen zeigen oder nicht. Angesichts der nach wie vor geringen Zahl moderner Untersuchungen in archaischen Städten der griechischen Welt kommt dem Fundbestand vom Kalabaktepe in Milet, den Helga Donder in ihrem Artikel behandelt, große Bedeutung zu, zumal sich hier recht deutliche und schwerlich zufällige Unterschiede zum Selinuntiner Bestand offenbaren.

Abb. 2 Den öffentlichen Festvortrag hielt der ehemalige Präsident des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Hans-Joachim Gehrke. – (Foto G. Rasbach).

Eine weitere wichtige Frage betrifft die mögliche (prä-?)monetäre Funktion von Rohmetall und »Brucherz« im westlichen Mittelmeerraum in archaischer Zeit; sie wird von Andreas M. Murgan und Fleur Kemmers in ihrem gemeinsamen Beitrag aus Sicht der Numismatik beleuchtet, wodurch deutlich wird, welches Potential die Zusammenarbeit verschiedener wissenschaftlicher Disziplinen besitzt, um Interpretationsmodelle für großräumig auftretende Phänomene wie der Thesaurierung von »Brucherz« zu erarbeiten.

Es ist mir eine angenehme Pflicht, an dieser Stelle all denjenigen zu danken, die zum Gelingen der Tagung und zur zeitnahen Publikation der Tagungsakten beigetragen haben, allen voran natürlich den Referenten, die in so großer Zahl der Einladung nach Mainz gefolgt sind und trotz anderweitiger Verpflichtungen ihre Beiträge für diesen Tagungsband schriftlich ausgearbeitet haben. Ein besonderer Dank für vielfältigen Rat und Unterstützung bei der Planung und Vorbereitung der Tagung geht an Markus Egg und Hans-Joachim Gehrke; bei der Organisation und praktischen Durchführung halfen mir insbesondere Patrick Zuccaro, Regina Molitor, Constanze Berbüsse und Giacomo Bardelli – auch ihnen danke ich dafür ganz herzlich. Clive Bridger-Kraus unterstütze mich tatkräftig bei der Redaktion der englischsprachigen Artikel dieses Bandes und übersetzte die Zusammenfassungen, Giacomo Bardelli las die italienischen Beiträge. Schließlich sorgte Claudia Nickel vom Verlag des RGZM in bewährter Weise dafür, dass der Band eine so ansprechende Form gefunden hat; auch dafür mein herzlicher Dank! Ein abschließendes Dankeschön geht für die drei Jahre währende finanzielle Förderung des Projekts »Metallfunde als Zeugnis für die Interaktion zwischen Griechen und Indigenen auf Sizilien zwischen dem 8. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.« an die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, insbesondere an den Programmdirektor der Gruppe Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften Hans-Dieter Bienert.

Holger Baitinger *Mainz, im Januar 2016*

Anmerkungen

1) GZ EG 64/3-1 (1.1.2012-31.12.2014).

2) http://web.rgzm.de/forschung/forschungsfelder/a/article/kulturkontakte.html (26.8.2015).

HOLGER BAITINGER · TAMAR HODOS

GREEKS AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN ARCHAIC SICILY – METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF MATERIAL CULTURE AND IDENTITY

WHAT ARE IDENTITIES?

The question of identities is very current nowadays, not only in studies of the ancient world, but also in other cultural and social sciences and even in our daily news. This is not surprising in a globalised world strongly influenced by migration and mobility. The coalescence of Europe through the European Union, the rise of anti-immigration political parties in many member states and the influx via the Mediterranean and the Balkan peninsula of people fleeing the Middle East and North African war zones, often with tragic consequences, are not unrelated. Contact with different communities offers great opportunities but also generates fear of change. As a result, there is often a resurgence of traditional identities to mark and combat the distress of such changes that have been fostered by closer collaboration, especially cohabitation. Such identities, however, are complex and multiple and may be expressed only in particular contexts or circumstances. At other times, unity through common values and practices prevails.

For example, in the summer of 2014, the FIFA Football World Cup in Brazil fascinated people in Germany. Many who watched the matches at fan parties and in bars wore the jersey of the German national team and waved the German flag. A considerable number of these people also had a migration background. Nevertheless, they felt like a »German« and jubilated with the »Nationalelf«, regardless of whether they had a German passport or not[1]. The feeling of being part of a particular group is often projected in the ostentatious display of clothing, while politicians and sociologists have also long recognised the value of sport as a catalyst for social integration[2]. If one of these football fans was to be buried in his jersey and accompanied by his flag, a future archaeologist would probably feel confident about the individual's cultural identity. If someone conducted isotope analyses on the individual's remains[3] or applied other such methodologies, however, the results may well contradict the first impression – or perhaps not, if the person was born and grew up in Germany, being part of the »second generation« of immigrants. Biological determinations can provide only part of any kind of so-called historical truth. Without a well-grounded framework for cultural interpretation, any additional scientific results will remain socially meaningless.

Identity – or, more appropriately, identities – are predicated predominantly by social construct, not just by genetic descent[4]. Furthermore, identities are not at all static, but constantly changing, even and especially through interaction with other groups. Within a group, different, overlapping or sometimes even contradictory identities may also exist, as I. Malkin has pointed out[5].

One of the primary means by which we display our identities is through the objects we use. Indeed, as D. Mattingly has recently noted, »the linkage between material culture and social identity is increasingly recognised as one of the most critical methodological issues to be negotiated«[6] when trying to recognise and understand socio-cultural identities. Material culture is only one of several elements in which identities are recordable, but it is the one archaeologists deal with most frequently. An object is only meaningful if it has socio-cultural context. For example, in the 1980 film *The Gods Must be Crazy*, a Coca Cola bottle care-

lessly thrown from an airplane generates high confusion and conflict among the indigenous Kalahari Desert tribe that finds it. Nobody knows the true function of the object, so it is interpreted as a gift from the gods. Outside its cultural context, the bottle has lost its original meaning and also its social significance. Among the San, where it is exclusive, it becomes highly esteemed, even in grotesque exaggeration, and fosters feelings of possessiveness, envy and anger within the community, emotions otherwise unknown to them.
The ancient Mediterranean world was also a place of enmeshing peoples, cultures and materials. How were group and individual identities expressed, and which traces can we find in the material culture[7]? What conclusions can we – with the support of natural sciences, literary and visual sources – derive from our material that forms only the non-perishable and more or less fortuitously surviving part of the once existing material culture[8]? What methods and »identity markers« are at our disposal? These pivotal questions of ancient studies are tackled by the present volume[9].

PAST IDENTITIES AND INTERPRETATIONS

The relationship between material culture and socio-cultural identities in multi-cultural contexts is extremely relevant to the ancient Mediterranean world. A superficial look around the Mediterranean will show widespread commonality in a number of material features during the first millennium B.C. These include artistic and architectural forms, motifs and plans, ceramics, numismatic and alphabetic concepts. Many of these derive specifically from the Greeks. This has suggested the presumed adoption by others of Greek practices, values and beliefs that accompanied the use of such artefacts and styles. This phenomenon, seen especially among those who had close contacts resulting from Greek colonisation, has traditionally been regarded as evidence of the native populations adopting Greek cultural practices. We call this »Hellenisation«[10].
A sense of Greek cultural superiority in our modern interpretations finds its origins in the promotion of the classical tradition in eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe[11]. During the twentieth century, this continued to influence our interpretations of the scope and ways in which the Greeks influenced those communities with whom they came into contact. This is illustrated in the history of scholarship concerning Sicily[12], the primary region of focus for this conference. Its quantity of Greek-founded settlements and the wealth of literary evidence pertaining to Greek activity in Sicily made it one of the most fertile grounds for examining Greece's colonial activities.
Among the first sites that P. Orsi – the »father of modern archaeology in Sicily«[13] – excavated were the Greek settlements of Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea and Casmenae, well-known from ancient literary sources, although Orsi also devoted considerable energy to excavating indigenous Sicilian sites. As such, for decades, our understanding of the impact of Greek settlement in Sicily was informed by the fact of the widespread use by the island's non-Greek communities of Greek architectural forms, burial methods and ceramic styles. The interpretation of Hellenisation to explain this pattern presumed that the use of Greek styles and objects reflected a corresponding adoption of Greek cultural practices, beliefs and values[14].
This kind of model is both binary and unidirectional, in which there are Greeks and natives, whereby the Greeks do the influencing. More generally, in a Hellenisation model, the Greeks maintain cultural, social, political and economic superiority, as well as immunity from any such influence by the Hellenised. As for the Hellenised, those who adopted Hellenic culture are regarded to do so wholesale and unquestioningly. There is little consideration of agency or reciprocity[15]. This perspective, which dominated interpretation for decades, is characterised by the famous conclusion by J. Boardman in »The Greeks Overseas« about Greek activity in Italy and Sicily when he states, »in the West, the Greeks had nothing to learn, much to teach«[16].

Such interpretations began to be replaced by views informed by postmodernist perspectives, which sought to break down generalised narratives put forward by dominant powers. Postmodernism implies a development beyond modernist thinking, which emphasised meta-narratives and world systems. Postmodernism explicitly deconstructs these master narratives to de-centre, and therefore to emphasise diversity and otherness. This breaks down the power balances and interdependencies that bind groups together and, instead, reveals the local[17]. While postmodernist perspectives in sociology, philosophy, literary criticism and related disciplines find their roots as early as the 1950s, it exploded during the 1980s. In archaeology, this allies with post-processualism, hence its impact in publications from the late 1980s onwards.

This impact began to emerge in scholarship on the Greek colonial phenomenon in the mid-1990s, with two particular areas of focus. One considers the differences in cultural practices among those we collectively identify as Greeks. This school of thought deconstructs the notion that Greek culture was homogeneous and timeless. The other has explored the colonial phenomenon from the perspective of the colonised to better understand the impact and mechanisms of interaction and influence between the Greeks (and Phoenicians) and those already existing in areas of colonisation[18]. Both sets of studies examine the means by which identities are created, projected, perceived and perpetuated. The role of the *middle ground*, the development of hybridised cultures and the significance of agency have been emphasised; they intersect in study of the development of social identities.

The identity most widely considered has been ethnicity. Two early, fundamental works, published in 1997, were S. Jones' »The Archaeology of Ethnicity«[19] and J. Hall's »Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity«[20]. In 2001, I. Malkin edited the anthology »Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity«[21], including amongst others a contribution by C. Antonaccio on »Ethnicity and Colonization«[22] that focused on Sicily. The following year J. Hall published »Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture«[23], while a year later, C. Dougherty and L. Kurke edited »The Cultures within Ancient Greek Culture«[24]. A year after that followed the volume »Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean«, edited by K. Lomas, which dealt specifically with the identity of Greek colonists[25]. The relationship between ethnic identity and material culture was also the focus of the 2006 volume »Soziale Gruppen – kulturelle Grenzen«, edited by S. Burmeister and N. Müller-Scheeßel[26]. In 2010, two further books were published, namely »Material Connections in the Ancient Mediterranean: Mobility, Materiality and Mediterranean Identities«, edited by P. van Dommelen and B. Knapp[27], and »Material Culture and Social Identities in the Ancient World«, edited by S. Hales and T. Hodos[28]. In an excellent article by C. Antonaccio in the latter, material culture and its role in the contemporary discussion of cultural identities comes into its own[29]. Most recently, Ch. Müller and E. Veïsse published the volume »Identité ethnique et culture dans le monde matérielle grec«[30].

For Sicilian studies, specifically, focus on social identities emerged primarily and initially amongst Anglo-Saxon scholars. Among the earliest is G. Shepherd, who examined burial and religious customs at Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea and Gela, initially for her 1993 Cambridge PhD[31]. Through a careful consideration of the grave types over time in each city, she was able to demonstrate that local circumstances, especially civic competition, had a greater influence on grave types than mother-city traditions. She discussed this as an example of the theoretical concept of *competitive emulation*. Furthermore, her analysis of their respective religious traditions revealed substantial divergence from mother-city practices, with greater parallels found in the local circumstances of Sicily. Collectively, she was able to begin *explicitly* to deconstruct the idea that Greek colonies[32] were replicas of their mother-cities.

At the same time, C. Antonaccio began tackling the development of social identities in Archaic Sicily, based upon the material culture patterns emerging from the Morgantina excavations, which she has co-directed since 1990. She focused particularly on ethnicity as a specific kind of identity, and the role material culture plays in shaping, projecting and reflecting such socio-cultural concepts. She argued that the settling down

of foreign newcomers in territories they had not previously permanently inhabited is a context in which new hybrid cultures developed. She suggested that both indigenous and Greek communities were hybridised, but that their respective hybridities were different. For the Greeks in Sicily, the ways in which their colonial experiences gave them a particularly Greek cultural identity – specificially the Siceliot identity – is determinative. For the Sicels and Sicans, Greek objects and practices were assimilated into an elite discourse, with active appropriation, or agency.

T. Hodos's early work on Sicily falls into this particular realm: the impact of the Greeks on the Sicilians explicitly from the perspective of the Sicilians. Her research demonstrated that the Sicilian populations did not accept Greek material culture wholesale, but actually were very selective – for example, taking only certain drinking and pouring vessel shapes, but never mixing bowls (kraters), or perfume flasks (aryballoi), even though other Italic populations regularly adopted them into their practices[33].

Similarly, in an extraordinarily important book of 2003, R. M. Albanese Procelli examined the cultural developments of the Sicani, Sicels and Elymians, assessing their respective expressions of identities, forms of contact and processes of evolution[34]. She assessed their urban and funerary developments, ritual practices, ceramic production, food and drink habits and their use of script. She cited the rate and nature of these developments as evidence of indigenous control over their cultural developments, downplaying any direct influence by the Greeks.

Recent critics of these explicitly post-colonial approaches in Greek colonisation studies have rightly argued that the impact of the colonists often becomes written out of the ancient Mediterranean post-colonial narrative[35]. They observe that such studies focus on the limitations of Greek influence and frame any such evidence through indigenous agency and hybridisation. We cannot ignore the fact that almost everywhere Greeks settled, their wine and associated drinking wares quickly became integrated with local tastes and customs, and their pottery assemblages influenced regional indigenous outputs. Many settlements shared Greek-derived architectural forms. The Greek alphabet was adapted to express local languages and many native communities borrowed the Greek system of coinage. Even religious syncretism developed over time. And yet, these studies ignore the extent of the role of Greeks as agents in Greek/non-Greek socio-cultural negotiations. This presents a different kind of one-sided perspective.

For this reason, approaches that draw upon globalisation theory are becoming increasingly popular[36]. Globalisation embraces our sense of the world as a coherently bounded place. But globalisation does not imply a unified world society or culture. These are sets of shared practices, or bodies of knowledge, that transgress national or cultural ideas. Shared practices are not the same as identically replicated practices, however. This is a facet of globalisation that is frequently overlooked. Furthermore, at the same time as these shared practices are developing, we often also witness heightened attempts to define the boundaries between groups more strongly. This is one of the paradoxes of the process of globalisation: instead of cultural similarities, it actually serves to highlight and reinforce cultural differences.

We can see this clearly with regard to the Greeks themselves. During the Greek colonial era, »Greek« identity coalesced into something broadly identifiable, despite differences between individual Greek settlements (and similarly for the Phoenicians). Some might argue that each Greek settlement was hybrid, since each city developed its own practices and styles in response to its specific geographic, social, cultural and political interactions with its neighbours. Furthermore, each settlement was constantly evolving. Nevertheless, shared features were forged to the extent that we can identify common traits and practices over time between the Greek settlements that enable us to discuss them collectively. At the same time, the differences between them allow us to distinguish them from one another. We have a balance. This also applies to interpreting the appropriation of Greek objects and ideas by non-Greeks. We can now recognise these as shared practices, not identically replicated ones, and we can see how they compare and contrast between communities and cultural groups[37].

Thus, globalisation allows us to discuss »the Greeks« while at the same time acknowledging the differences in the practices of being Greek. Globalisation also allows us to reintegrate those shared practices that gave rise to the Hellenisation model in the first place, while at the same time acknowledging localised differences. I. Morris calls this specifically »Mediterraneanization«[38]. In this framework, the Mediterranean acts as a globalised space. It incorporates shared sets of practices and sharply defining differences that articulate various local identities.

Globalisation processes depend upon connectivity, since communities are linked by connection networks. For this reason, network theory is also gaining increasing importance. For Greek colonial studies, the most recent example is I. Malkin's »A Small Greek World«[39]. In the Archaic period, hundreds of independent communities between the east coast of the Black Sea and Spain formed the Greek world, which functioned – following Malkin – as a »decentralized network«[40]. The settlements arose in regions with different conditions and cultural traditions, so we can observe different reactions – »local responses« –, both from the newcomers and from the indigenous peoples[41]. Greek architecture, clothing, funeral rites and religious practices were transferred to regions away from home, although they could more or less quickly modify and change through interaction with indigenous people. To what extent »mixed marriages« between Greek colonists and indigenous women played a part[42], shall be left aside here, for the issue is contentious, both archaeologically and with regard to literary evidence.

One upshot of these connectivities was the development of common expressions of »Greekness«, and perhaps even an explicit consciousness of it. As Malkin has noted, »[...] the more the Greeks dispersed, somehow the more ›Greek‹ they became«[43]. In an article published in 2004, J. Hall raised the legitimate question: »How ›Greek‹ were the early Western Greeks?«[44]. Hall thought it was »inherently unlikely that when the first generations of Greek settlers set out for the West in the 8th century they carried with them a preconstituted consciousness of belonging to a wider Hellenic community«[45]. But that this did develop is borne out, for example, in the fact that the largest Greek temples were constructed not in the Greek homeland, but farther eastwards in Ionia and farther westwards in Sicily. The overseas Greeks felt the need to compete on a broader, Mediterranean-wide scale to display success, wealth and achievement. The question of when the Greeks became aware of their Hellenism cannot be answered without literary sources, although the Greco-Persian Wars in the early 5th century B.C. are recognised as a milestone[46]. We can remind ourselves of the famous words spoken by the Athenians in Herodotus' Histories, when they highlighted »the kinship of all Greeks in blood and speech, and the shrines of gods and the sacrifices that we have in common, and the likeness of our way of life«[47].

Indeed, there are different opinions relating to the Western Greek identity. K. Lomas emphasises the multi-layered character of Greek identities, their alteration in the course of time and their regional differentiation, while rejecting an overall Greek identity[48]. Focusing on Sicily, C. Antonaccio assumes the formation of a Greek-Sikeliote identity in the tension between Greeks, indigenous Sicilian peoples and other groups in Sicily, such as the Carthaginians[49]. This seems to be plausible, as Sicily was a major Mediterranean hub and has always been highly attractive to foreign forces. In contrast, M. Dreher assumes no significant differences between identities on the Greek mainland and in Western Greece. Drawing almost exclusively upon literary sources, he concludes, »dass die Geschichte der Westgriechen im großen und ganzen parallel zu jener des Mutterlandes und der Poleis in Kleinasien verlief« (»The history of the Western Greeks ran on the whole parallel to the history of the Greek mother country and of the poleis in Asia Minor«)[50]. Thus, he refuses an independent Western Greek identity – at least for Sicily – in favour of an ambition to join the Panhellenic identity[51]. The archaeological evidence, however, tells a different story. Indeed, the strong connections between the mother city and *apoikia* he emphasises[52] cannot be substantiated by the burial evidence, for which G. Shepherd some time ago noted significant differences between the mother cities and the Sicilian Greek

sites[53]. In summary, traditional interpretations of the »Hellenisation« of indigenous peoples by the superior Greek culture have given way to more complex and varied local responses to Greek overseas foundations[54].

SEARCHING FOR »IDENTITY MARKERS«

For all of these views, the basic issue of identity definition remains complex. To a certain extent, it is easier to state what identities are **not** than to define what they are, especially if we focus on the material culture. This is because we distinguish ourselves as much through difference with others as similarities. Thus, the more we go into detail about what makes a social identity, the more the picture becomes complex and manifold, and opinions considered assured appear suddenly doubtful[55]. Hence, H.-J. Gehrke proposes to use Max Weber's concept of the »Idealtypus« to detect processes of cultural exchange between different individuals and groups in their material residues[56]. At the same time, however, we still have to search for »identity markers« in order to assess what defines and distinguishes individuals, groups, tribes or even peoples.
The following sections provide brief examples of complex, diverse responses to Greek settlement in Sicily, both by the newcomers themselves as well as their indigenous neighbours. We try to use different aspects of social life as »identity markers«. They will be discussed here without making a claim to be complete, but central aspects include religion, language and script, the architectural environment, artistic style and even coinage.

Religion

Religion forms an important factor of identity, for it deeply penetrated and structured life in antiquity. Shared religious practices and festivals strongly reinforced common identities between families, groups, communities, tribes and states. An exclusion from religious activities would amount to an exclusion from the community. Panhellenic sanctuaries played an important role as focal points of Greek identity. H. Philipp once titled Olympia the »Panionion der Westgriechen«[57] and U. Sinn designated the Olympic Games as »Heimatfest der Auslandsgriechen«[58]. The development of Olympia and Delphi into the most important Greek sanctuaries coincides hardly by chance with the early phase of Greek colonisation in the West.
Sicilian Greeks competed in this international arena by making dedications small and large, including dedicating structures, at such Panhellenic sites like Delphi and Olympia[59]. Already in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C., many votive gifts from the West were dedicated to Zeus in Olympia and to Apollo in Delphi[60]. In 1985, I. Kilian-Dirlmeier stated in a most important article on foreign dedications in Greek sanctuaries that 8.9 % of the foreign objects of the 8th and early 7th century B.C. in Olympia were of Italian origin – the highest percentage of non-Greek objects in this sanctuary[61]. This reflects the strong connections between Olympia and the Greek West attested in literary and epigraphic sources, too[62]. Of the ten cities that built treasuries in Olympia, no fewer than five were located in the Greek West – especially in Sicily (Syracuse, Selinus and Gela) – whereas only two were in Greece itself (Megara and Sicyon)[63]. Obviously, these Panhellenic shrines were focal points for Greek identity, all the more for the Greeks abroad. As G. Shepherd noted a number of years ago already, conspicuous dedications at Panhellenic sanctuaries were also an extremely effective means of wealth and prosperity advertisement that could be clearly seen as action independent of a mother-city; the fact that there is no evidence of colonial activity in the mother-cities themselves reinforces this conclusion[64].
In Sicily, the Greeks focused on their own religious priorities, independent of mother-city traditions. While indigenous Sicilian traditions seem to have endured particularly in extraurban sanctuaries of fertility god-

desses (Demeter and Kore)[65], in the major state sanctuaries of the Greek colonies differences in dedication practices in comparison with Greece itself can also be observed. For example, most of the metal votive gifts excavated by P. Orsi at the beginning of the twentieth century in the Syracuse Athenaion date to the Early Archaic Period, i.e. to the end of the 8th and the first half of the 7th century B.C.[66]. Surprisingly, there are very few examples of the kind of votive gifts that are typically found in contemporary shrines in Greece, such as cauldrons with griffin heads, rod tripods, armour including helmets, shields or greaves, pins for clothing, statuettes and so on[67]. Instead, the assemblage from Syracuse includes numerous indigenous Sicilian bronzes of the so-called Finocchito horizon[68], such as fibulae, beads, chains, rings, and a large spearhead. As such we can conclude that the ranges of votive gifts in contemporary important sanctuaries of Greece differ significantly from the spectrum found in this Western Greek colony.

For the indigenous communities, it was traditionally assumed that the appropriation of Greek religious features signalled the adoption of Greek religious beliefs and associated practices. This includes the construction of religious buildings based on the Greek *oikos* form by settlements such as Monte Saraceno, Monte San Mauro, Monte Bubbonia and Vassallaggi during the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., along with a noted popularity of Demeter figurines at a number of indigenous sites at the same time. Yet there are other ways to consider both developments. The fact that settlements such as Gela, Himera, Megara Hyblaea and Selinus also constructed buildings with similar variations of the oikos model during this period may simply represent expressions of popular ideas of religious architectural forms in this era, rather than explicit religious practice indications[69]. This idea becomes more alluring when one considers more closely the contexts of such developments. For example, at Sabucina, a number of Demeter statuettes were found in a small shrine in a domestic zone of the settlement. It is the other finds that give context to these statuettes which suggest that it is not necessarily Demeter being worshipped. These include a model of a pitched-roof temple with animal protomes, an incense burner, offering cups, bronze jewellery, and a ram figurine, features that are closely associated with traditional indigenous cult sites and religious practices. The more likely explanation, therefore, is that the deity being worshipped in this context was an indigenous one, for whom Demeter's attributes were complementary[70].

We can add here the consciousness of common roots and shared places of memory. Myths belong to the religious sector, too, as they connect the human and divine spheres. Important sanctuaries were often founded at places with older sacred origins and features, which contributed to the emergence of the newer cult and cultic practices. Olympia again illustrates this, where the Early Iron Age religious activities took place on the site's Early Bronze Age mound[71]. The significance of sacred places and sites of memory makes them targets of enemies, who destroy such contexts to erase cultural memory and group identity as a means of asserting their own control and power. The Persians acted in this way while advancing through Greece in 480 B.C.; most recently we have seen this in the way Islamic State has rampaged through Iraq and Syria, and how Boko Haram has destroyed shrines in Timbuktu, Mali.

The written and the spoken word

Another important factor is language, which facilitates communication between individuals or groups and also creates a shared identity, but which at the same time separates groups from one other by virtue of difference. From antiquity, language is preserved in literary documents, inscriptions, and even traditional proper names. However, we cannot place the spoken word and the written word on the same level as »identity markers« with certainty. We find Greek inscriptions on locally produced southern Italian pottery[72], and in Sicily the Greek alphabet was used to write non-Greek languages[73]. According to Caesar, the Gallic

Druids used the Greek alphabet in public and private affairs[74]. Some potsherds dating to the Late La Tène period from north of the Alps also depict graffiti in the Greek alphabet[75]. These illustrate that the use of Greek writing does not necessarily indicate the presence of Greek people. Instead, such uses of the Greek language and alphabet reflect shared practices (even via adoption of a practice), which range from the practical (ownership; dedication) to the cultural (including political functions of language), suggesting common social values between diverse groups.

The Greek city-states themselves had their own variations of form; there was no standardised script. No doubt, this derives from the fact that Doric and Ionic dialects were used in Sicily, reflecting the origins of the respective colonists (e. g. Euboeans spoke an Ionic dialect, whereas Corinthians, Rhodians and Megarians spoke a Doric dialect), although over time, the Sicilian Ionic colonies adopted a Doric-based variety such that a Sicilian Doric *koina* was in place throughout the island by the Hellenistic period[76].

Greek script first begins to be used at the end of the 6th century B.C. by the local populations, who adopted the form of their nearest Greek city-state. Communities around Mount Aetna followed the Catanian script, while those in the Hyblaean hills and Catania plain followed the variant used by Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea. Settlements in central Sicily followed the Geloan model while those in western Sicily adopted the Selinus form[77]. Writing was used primarily to mark ownership or greeting, usually inscribed onto drinking cups. This suggests a relationship in indigenous contexts between wine consumption and writing, perhaps with writing being used as a means of status display by the owner. The suggestion that identity display within a local, indigenous, context was more significant than any kind of explicit statement of Hellenisation may be interpreted from the development of regional alphabetic *koines*, such as the one in eastern Sicily based on the use of the Sicel alpha, or the corpus in western Sicily derived from the Selinus alphabet[78].

Even though Greek became the official language of political communication by the 4th century B.C., this does not mean necessarily that only Greek political systems also became official; the circumstance was much more complex than a Hellenisation model allows. The bronze decrees from Entella exemplify this[79]. Originally, Entella had been an Elymian city. Its alliance with the Carthaginians during the late 5th century B.C. resulted in its destruction by Dionysius in 368 B.C., although it remained under Carthaginian control until its liberation by Timoleon in 339 B.C. Presumably, this liberation was conditional upon political changes, although the date of the decree tablets themselves is disputed, with some scholars favouring a late 4th century date while others suggest they are as late as the middle of the 3rd century B.C. Written in Greek, the tablets speak of processes familiar to Greek political systems: an assembly, a council, and leaders; military alliances; citizenship rights and juridical procedures. Other features, however, are not known in Greek political contexts, such as the nomination of three wise men to resolve property disputes by means of voting with lots. This implies that this Entellan political system incorporated Greek and Sicilian political traditions into one.

Together, these examples illustrate the complex nature of the era, in which ideas and traditions were adapted and modified to blend with local needs, often over a long period of time. This, therefore, suggests more of a coalescence of practice determined by local circumstances at particular periods in time, rather than an expression of wanting to be like another.

The architectural environment

Town planning, architecture and burial customs can represent »identity markers« too. The initial Greek colonies in Sicily differed significantly from the indigenous settlements of the hinterland in terms of layout and architecture[80], and it was some time before the latter gradually adopted ideas used in the former. The same holds true for grave types and burial customs[81]. However, what does it mean when Greek models

and material goods were adopted? Do they prove far-reaching processes of acculturation? Can we observe transformations in religious behaviour[82], for example, when indigenous settlements constructed sacred buildings using Greek archetypes? Does this point to the physical presence of Greeks (whatever this may mean) in the settlement or did indigenous people adopt these architectural prototypes?

Discussions of urban development today focus on urbanisation as an active, developmental process. Within this, we characterise the Greek built environment by its grid system, dedicated public spaces and city walls. Yet this pattern did not have a uniform development among the Greeks themselves. The Greeks in Sicily and southern Italy used grid planning in the late 8th and 7th centuries, but this was adopted in the Aegean only in the 6th century and more widely from the 5th century B.C.[83]. Furthermore, this system had variation. In Sicily, some cities had houses aligned on parallel, equidistant roads with groups of oblique cross-streets (Megara Hyblaea), others had true orthogonal plans (Naxos; Syracuse), while others still had parallel streets without cross-streets (Kasmenai)[84]. City walls are often regarded as a 6th century development, but quite a few Greek settlements had them well before then[85]. The location of public buildings in specifically selected locations within a townscape also took diverse forms in Greek cities. And none of this has anything to do political forms. It has been argued that no fixed relationship can be determined between the evolution of Greek town planning and Greek political and social concepts[86]. Thus, the widespread adaptation of Greek town planning forms by others, which we see during the 6th century B.C., does not necessarily also reflect the adoption of Greek ideologies.

In Sicily, during the 6th century B.C., a number of so-called indigenous sites adopted urban plans involving blocks articulated along large and narrow streets, rectilinear architecture and encircling city walls, such as Monte Saraceno di Ravanusa, Monte Bubbonia, Monte Iato, Vassallaggi, Sabucina and Morgantina[87]. So how should we regard these developments? As copying Greek ideas, or perhaps indicative of more Mediterranean-wide notions of urbanism, without any sense of wanting to be someone other than themselves? That the latter is likely may be seen in the rate and nature of such developments. For example, as noted above, city walls were generally not constructed before the 6th century, despite evidence of conflict between the Greeks and their indigenous neighbours beginning in the late 8th century B.C. Many Sicilian settlements were hilltop sites that had naturally restricted access, a setting that obviates significant need for a city wall[88]. Therefore, although the construction of a city wall several centuries later suggests a contemporary threat, their popularity may also reflect simply what had become a shared, standardised expression of urban development by this time. The same may be argued for orthogonal layouts and rectilinear structures, as well. Indeed, not all settlements adopted the full range of features. Furthermore, several Sicilian Greek cities underwent redevelopment during the 5th century B.C. themselves, like Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea and Selinus, adopting new orientations, street-plans, and in some cases house-plots[89]. These changes may be best associated with inter-site competition and display, occuring during a period of rapid political changes (the era of tyranny in several Sicilian Greek city-states), and no doubt they relate to such political developments. In sum, urban expressions were constantly evolving. Thus, as the different cultures of Sicily continued to interact, their modes of collaboration and competition coalesced into commonly shared and understood forms[90]. The result is that by the 5th century B.C., settlements across the island shared common features, regardless of the cultural affiliations of their residents.

Artistic Style

It is widely recognised that the adoption of foreign material goods by local elites does not necessarily mean cultural assimilation[91]. This has been analysed primarily on the basis of the so-called Early Iron Age princely

graves in Central Europe. In the Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène periods, only a limited selection of foreign goods from Greece and Etruria reached the area north of the Alps, while elements of a refined lifestyle such as small containers for perfumes or oils are absent[92]. In the receptacles found in tombs, local mead was often stored, rather than the wine that was popular in the Mediterranean world[93]. To what extent have foreign ideas and concepts been adopted together with these foreign goods?

We know that Greek settlements around the Mediterranean began to produce their own pottery and sculptural styles, albeit derived from their imported cultural repertoire. Thus, in Sicily, we see the advent of specifically Siceliote (Sicilian Greek) pottery, which borrowed from Corinthian, Attic and East Greek traditions. And these were used alongside Greek imports, not only by Greeks, but also by the indigenous communities[94]. The popularity of Greek (imported and Siceliote) pottery among native Sicilians contributed significantly to the Hellenisation interpretation of cultural impact. Specifically, Sicilian communities rapidly adopted the use of the trefoil oinochoe and drinking cups in particular and manufactured their own versions. A more focused examination of indigenous ceramic use reveals a much more complex pattern of inspiration and production, however[95].

Sicilian communities had little interest in mixing bowls until the 6th century B.C., and even then the form was never particularly popular, although mixing bowls are as central to Greek drinking practices as pouring and drinking shapes, which suggests different consumption practices were maintained. When Sicilians do make their own versions, such as the famous example from Sabucina[96], they combine elements of shape and style uniquely. Interest in *unguentaria* is even more notable. In the Greek world, the aryballos was particularly popular for its perfume contents and our knowledge of their typological development comes from the vast quantities buried with the dead of Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea. The Sicels of eastern Sicily had virtually no interest in these small perfume jars, however, whereas the Sicani of central Sicily did from at least the 7th century B.C., when they are found in both domestic and funerary contexts[97]. Furthermore, a closer analysis of Sicilian stylistic development reveals a different trajectory from colonial outputs of the same shape. For example, Sicilian trefoil oinochoai of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. continued to use motifs derived from 7th century imports, rather than contemporary motifs that the Greek colonies themselves produced and imported[98]. Taken collectively, it is clear that we can no longer connect simple use of Greek pottery styles to Hellenisation *per se*, because it was not simple use. We have a far more intricate system of economic and social networks at play here, in which various identities are reflected and projected to a variety of cultural groups and which were constantly evolving.

Coinage

Coinage, too, deserves similar consideration, although it is usually overlooked in such discussions of cultural developments. Sicilian Greeks began minting coins shortly after the middle of the 6th century B.C., possibly replacing scrap metal as a store of value and as a medium of exchange; such assemblages have been discovered in sanctuaries like Bitalemi near Gela and in the agora of Selinus[99]. Coinage was not quickly nor uniformly adopted beyond Greek communities until at least the middle of the 5th century B.C., although only occasionally, gradually and with regional differences. During the first half of the 5th century B.C., indigenous communities in Sicily created a system of metallic exchange based upon the bronze pound, or *litra*, which corresponded to a Greek silver *litra* of 13.5 grams (they also produced silver coins, but they based their system on the bronze production). This convenient conversion no doubt facilitated exchanges, enabling the *litra* to become an additional denomination amongst Sicilian Greek cities, especially those minting to the Attic and Euboic standards. To distinguish the slightly heavier *litra* from an *obol*, cities gave them different

types. Thus, the Syracusan *litra* depicted a cuttlefish and its *obol* a wheel. Eventually, the *litra* supplanted the *obol*[100]. This may explain the circulation of large quantities of scrap metal in Sicily at least until the end of the 5th century B.C.[101].

The emphasis on the low-value, bronze *litra* among non-colonial Sicilian communities also led to the wide production of small denominations in bronze among the Sicilian Greek cities. Such a feature is not seen to this extent elsewhere in the Greek world. Their value was based on a fixed exchange rate with silver coins, rather than their material worth, and thus they were fiduciary. This allowed an individual to exchange bronze coins for silver in the market. Around 450 B.C., Acragas became the first Greek city to produce such a »denomination«, casting a small shield-like or triangular form. The city then began to cast a coin shape before finally striking coin forms in bronze. By 430/420 B.C., Segesta, Himera and Syracuse also were minting fiduciary bronze coins. The concept spread quickly to Greek communities in Italy and back to mainland Greece[102].

These developments suggest that the use of coinage among non-Greeks, when adopted, served purposes other than the practical function of making payment. The fact that coins minted by Eryx and Segesta during the 5th century B.C. used Panhellenic coin legends reinforces this perspective; it also suggests that the traditional language of western Sicily continued to play an official role at this date. The obvious conclusion is that coinage served not only a practical function of making payments, but also played a role in expressing political achievement and power. In short, coinage did not develop merely for economic reasons, but also in response to local social demands, serving internal needs. And with the example of the production of bronze demoninations, we have something that the Greeks definitely learned in the West!

CONCLUSION

Identities are complex, multilayered and not easy to distinguish in material culture, which has a rather ambivalent character. Within a group, different, overlapping or sometimes even contradictory identities may have existed. If we try to detect »identity markers« and types of interactions between different groups and societies, often we need other sources and methods beyond material culture alone (e. g. natural sciences, literary and visual sources) to give support to our interpretations by providing a broader perspective. This is because aspects of material culture may be adopted only partially, and/or shared while other elements are completely refused; they may reach only certain groups (e. g. the elite) or they may be accepted by the whole society. Furthermore, objects and their associated practices can change meaning and relevance completely when transferred to other cultural contexts, or they may retain elements of original social function. For this reason, and more often than not, hybridised cultures arose out of such circumstances, as in the case of Archaic Sicily through the interaction of Greeks and indigenous peoples, the complexity of which we are able to ascertain precisely because of the range of additional non-material evidence for the period. The different »identity markers« of religious practices, architecture, art and coinage discussed briefly above demonstrate the intricacy of these interactions, and demonstrate that socio-cultural identities were not static and unchangeable. These processes in Sicily can not be recognised any more as a simple kind of »Hellenisation« but as a series of complex processes of interaction.

Notes

1) e. g. http://www.spiegel.de/panorama/gesellschaft/wm-2014-migranten-beim-public-viewing-in-berlin-a-977929.html (16.1.2016).

2) e. g. http://www.faz.net/aktuell/sport/sportpolitik/sportvereine-leisten-vorbildliches-in-der-fluechtlingsarbeit-13799932.html (17.9.2015).

3) e. g. Knipper 2004; Stephan 2012.

4) Hodos 2006, 18: »Even with the integration of biological analyses […], the fact that ethnic identity is socially constructed means that we will never be able to arrive at an absolute identification from the material record alone, since our interpretations of the material past are subjective.« – Other colleagues are much more optimistic about the correlation of archaeological and anthropological records and their meaning for the reconstruction of social identities, e. g. Bérard 2014, 158-162; ibidem 158 f.: »Le seul moyen fiable de tirer des conclusions d'ordre ethnique de la présence de certains objets dans les tombes coloniales serait en fait de pouvoir disposer d'un corpus de sépultures de référence pour chacune des populations concernées, c'est-à-dire des tombes de sujets grecs d'une part et indigènes d'autre part, de la même aire géographique et culturelle que celles à étudier, dont l'appartenance ethnique aurait été établie par des critères non pas relatifs, comme le mobilier archéologique, mais absolus, comme les données anthropologiques.« We can certainly verify mobility with these methods in several cases but we cannot really solve the question of identities and ethnicities.

5) e. g. Malkin 2001, 3; 2011, 18 f. fig. 1.6: »Any Syracusan citizen was also a Corinthian colonist, a Dorian, a Sikeliote […] and a Greek«; Ulf 2014, 476. – For the question of different »layers« of identity see also Hall 2004, 35 f.

6) Mattingly 2010, 287. – The formula »I = mc x p« (I = identity, mc = material culture, p = practice) presented by Mattingly simplifies highly the complex evolution and gives the impression that human behaviour could be pressed into a mathematical formula.

7) e. g. Bérard 2014, 145: »[…] la question reste cependant inchangée: est-il possible de définir l'identité collective d'un peuple par la seule étude des objets qu'il a produits et utilisés?«

8) e. g. Lomas 2004b, 4: »The interpretation of non-literary sources as evidence for ethnicity or cultural identity carries its own methodological problems.« – For the situation in Sicily see Albanese Procelli 2003, 227: »È pericoloso considerare la presenza di oggetti di produzione greca, se non associata ad altri ›segni‹ probanti, come sintomo di acculturazione. […] Allo stesso modo, la presenza di importazioni greche anche precoci non sta a significare necessariamente cambiamenti di stili di vita.«

9) See in particular the contribution of H.-J. Gehrke in this volume.

10) Recently, see Vlassopoulos 2013, 7-11.

11) Hodos 2010b, 5-9; Dyson 2006; Neer 1997; Marchand 1996.

12) Dunbabin 1948; Boardman 1999; Hodos 2006.

13) Atti Rovereto 1991.

14) e. g. Boardman 1999.

15) Recently Hodos 2014.

16) Boardman 1999, 190.

17) Hodos 2010b, 9-11.

18) Hodos 2014.

19) Jones 1997.

20) Hall 1997.

21) Malkin 2001.

22) Antonaccio 2001.

23) Hall 2002.

24) Doughtery/Kurke 2003.

25) Lomas 2004a.

26) Burmeister/Müller-Scheeßel 2006. – A certain reserve against this theme in Germany is due to historical reasons (e. g. Sommer 2003). In the 1930s and 1940s, the National Socialists abused archaeology as a legitimising science for their regime, especially the so-called »Siedlungsarchäologische Methode« developed by G. Kossinna. The Nazis perverted Kossinna's central assumption after which »sharply defined archaeological cultural areas correspond unquestionably with the areas of particular people or tribes«. Therefore, the »ethnic interpretation« was in German Research discredited for decades. In 1980, G. Smolla called this the »Kossinna syndrome«, which »für die Jüngeren teils als unnützer Ballast, teils als unnötige Straßensperre wirkt« (»this appears for younger people partly as useless ballast, partly as an unnecessary roadblock«) (Smolla 1979/1980, 1. – H. J. Eggers gave an extensive description of the problem of the »ethnic interpretation« in his 1959 published »Introduction to Prehistory«, a book which was relevant in Germany for decades: Eggers 1959, 199-254). Only at the beginning of the twenty-first century, in particular the archaeology of the Early Middle Ages in Germany turned increasingly to the themes »identity« and »ethnicity« (e. g. Siegmund 2000; Brather 2000; 2004; 2011). The political explosive force of Kossinna's theses became already visible in his lifetime: After World War I, German and Polish archaeologists battled out a veritable »Cold War« in which archaeological evidence was utilised for the legitimation of territorial claims (Eggers 1959, 236 f.). This is still happening in our days and ancient studies are in no way apolitical as we suppose from time to time, though we do not have to discuss this point here in detail – it would provide enough material for another conference!

27) van Dommelen/Knapp 2010.

28) Hales/Hodos 2010.

29) Antonaccio 2010.

30) Müller/Veïsse 2014.

31) Shepherd 1993; 1995.

32) Osborne 1998 and Gosden 2004 reject these as »colonies«, but see Hodos 2014, 25 f.

33) Hodos 2000; 2005; 2006, 129-133.

34) Albanese Procelli 2003, esp. 226-243.

35) e. g. Domínguez 2012.

36) Hodos 2009; 2010a.

37) The fact is that by the time many of these features became common, several hundred years had passed since Greek colonisation had begun. Is it still fair to discuss their widespread use as an expression of specific Greekness, somehow? Many will argue that after such a long time, they had just become common and normalised, rather than explicitly Greek, e. g. Dietler 2010.

38) Morris 2003; 2005; see also Hodos 2014.

39) Malkin 2011.

40) Ibidem 3. 8.

41) Hodos 2006.

42) e. g. Goegebeur 1987; Coldstream 1993; Hodos 1999; Shepherd 1999. It seems indeed difficult to identify »mixed marriages« in the archaeological evidence, in particular if an indigenous individual has completely adopted Greek costume manners.

43) Malkin 2011, 5.

44) Hall 2004.

45) Ibidem 38.

46) e. g. Malkin 2001, 7: »[…] the Persians were the whetstone against which a common Greekness was sharpened«.

47) Hdt. 8, 144, 2 (translation by A. D. Godley); cf. Thomas 2001.

48) Lomas 2004b, 1-3, esp. 3: »[…] Greek identity was not only multi-layered and constantly changing in response to the needs and priorities of particular communities, but also varied throughout the western Mediterranean.« – Ibidem 8: »One of the key themes which runs through many of the papers in this volume is that of interaction between Greeks and non-Greeks, and in particular the need to replace one-sided concepts such as Hellenization with a more multi-layered understanding of the dynamics of Greek-non-Greek contact.« – Cf. also Albanese Procelli 2003, 229: »Il fatto che gli storici greci abbiano adottato il termine *Sikeliotes* per i coloni di Sicilia indica che essi riconoscevano esplicitamente la loro peculiarità rispetto ai Greci della madrepatria.«

49) Antonaccio 2001; cf. also Antonaccio 2010.

50) Dreher 2009, esp. 544.

51) Ibidem 529. 532.

52) Ibidem 530.

53) Shepherd 1995.

54) e. g. Lomas 2004b, 9; see also ibidem 12 f.: »Contact with a wide variety of non-Greek populations is also a central factor in shaping the identity of the western colonies, and it is becoming increasingly clear that it is impossible to study the Greek colonies in isolation from their local (non-Greek) environment.« – Antonaccio 2010, 35: »Finally, the dominant models of ancient colonization and imperialism – Hellenization and Romanization – were both proving unsatisfactory, despite their different trajectories and mechanisms.«

55) e. g. Insoll 2007.

56) See the contribution of H.-J. Gehrke in this volume.

57) Philipp 1994, 88.

58) Sinn 1996, 30-32. – With critical comments recently Dreher 2013, who includes, however, with the weapons only a small part of Italic-Sicilian votive gifts in his discussions. For an overview of such votives see now Baitinger 2013.

59) Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985; Shepherd 1995.

60) Baitinger 2013; see the contribution of H. Aurigny in this volume.

61) Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985, 230-235, esp. 231 fig. 13.

62) e. g. Philipp 1992; Giangiulio 1993; Philipp 1994; Di Vita 2005.

63) Mallwitz 1972, 163-179; Herrmann 1972, 97-104; Herrmann 1992; Philipp 1994, 87 f.; Heiden 1995, 78-105 (Dächer 36-42); Baumeister 2012.

64) Shepherd 1995, 75.

65) Hinz 1998.

66) Orsi 1918, 575-583 figs. 163-169.

67) For Olympia see e. g. Mallwitz/Herrmann 1980.

68) Bernabò Brea 1958, 170-174. 211-218.

69) Hodos 2010a.

70) Ibidem.

71) Kyrieleis 2006.

72) Small 2004.

73) Albanese Procelli 2003, 219-225; Hodos 2006, 147-152; 2007; Poccetti 2012.

74) Caes. Gall. 6, 14; cf. Maier 2012, esp. 175-181.

75) Krämer 1982.

76) Mimbrera 2012.

77) Marchesini 1999; Willi 2008.

78) Hodos 2006, 147-152; Poccetti 2012.

79) Ampolo 2001.

80) With the term »indigenous« we describe the groups who were settling in Sicily when the Greek colonists arrived there. Explicitly we do **not** imply therewith that these groups lived in Sicily »since the beginning of time« (Hodos 2006, 14). Cf. Hodos 2006, 14 f. – See the contributions of S. Vassallo and F. Spatafora in this volume.

81) See the contributions of K. P. Hofmann and N. Burkhardt in this volume.

82) See the contribution of B. Öhlinger in this volume.

83) Shipley 2005.

84) Hodos 2006, 101-105; De Angelis 2016, 62-133.

85) Frederiksen 2011; De Angelis 2016, 62-133. Indeed, the origins of the walled city, with planned community administrative structures, economic and cultic buildings, and freestanding, uniformly oriented domestic buildings, can be found in the Early Iron Age Levant. Cities like Tyre and Sarepta had multi-story buildings, centralised civic buildings, religious structures, and substantial urban works, including city walls. Sarepta even had an orthogonal layout during the late 9th century B.C. One could argue, therefore, that the Phoenicians brought sophisticated urbanism to the Mediterranean during the late 9th and 8th centuries B.C. (e. g. Carthage), and perhaps introduced it to the Greeks of Sicily.

86) Shipley 2005.

87) Hodos 2006, 105-112.

88) See the contribution of F. Spatafora in this volume.

89) Megara Hyblaea and Selinus: De Angelis 2003. – Syracuse: Pelagatti 1982, 132.

90) Hodos 2010a. See Morgan 2015.

91) e. g. Hall 2004, 45: »The receptivity of indigenous élites to Greek prestige items and status markers such as bronze hoplite armor, the accoutrements associated with the symposium, or even Homeric-style burial is well documented, but the adoption of these elements has less to do with cultural assimilation than with the appropriation of symbols whose efficacy in legitimating leadership and authority was guaranteed by the difficulty of their acquisition.« – Antonaccio 2010, 39 f.: »Foreign objects associated, for example, with the drinking of wine […], such as mixing bowls (kraters), different types of cups, strainers, and other paraphernalia, were adopted as elements of a prestige goods economy, and did not signal anything about cultural assimilation.«

92) Baitinger 2015, esp. 20 f.

93) Körber-Grohne 1985, 121 f.; Rösch 1997; 1999; 2002.

94) Hodos 2010a, 95-98.

95) For an extended discussion, see Hodos 2010a.

96) Ibidem 96 f. fig. 7. The motif uses a Middle Corinthian heraldic animal procession, minus filling ornaments; the clay is rendered to imitate Corinthian fabrics, the shape is Attic.

97) Hodos 2005; 2006, 129-132; 2010a.

98) Hodos 2005; 2006, 129-132.

99) See the contributions of H. Baitinger and Ch. Tarditi in this volume.

100) Fischer-Bossert 2012.

101) See the contribution of H. Baitinger in this volume.

102) Fischer-Bossert 2012; see also Hodos in press.

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Abstract

Greeks and Indigenous People in Archaic Sicily – Methodological Considerations of Material Culture and Identity

This article deals with methodological considerations of material culture and identity, using primarily evidence from Archaic Sicily, where Greeks and indigenous peoples interacted closely at this time. Identities are complex and multi-layered and not easy to identify using only material culture, with its inherently ambivalent character. Therefore additional sources and methods (natural sciences, literary and visual sources) are necessary to detect »identity markers« which have left their traces of social life. In this chapter we explore briefly changes in interpretations regarding the relationship between social identities and material culture in the spheres of writing, architecture, art, coinage, and religious practices.

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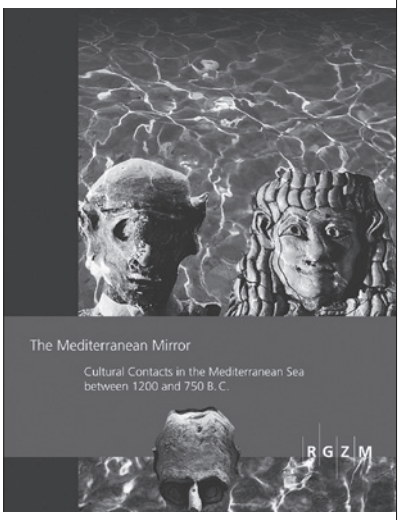

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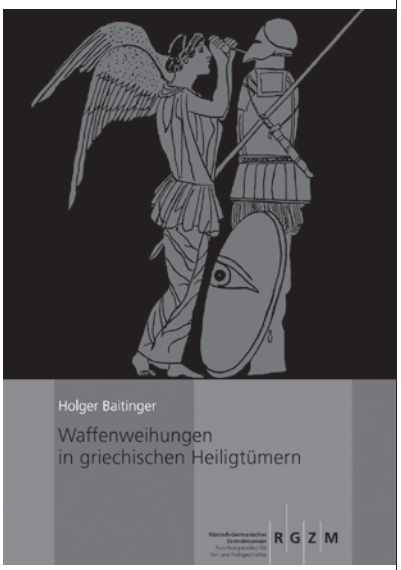

Holger Baitinger

Waffenweihungen in griechischen Heiligtümern

Bei Ausgrabungen in bedeutenden griechischen Heiligtümern wie Olympia oder Delphi wurden große Mengen an Waffen und Rüstungsstücken aus dem 8. bis 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. gefunden. Sie gelten als Beutestücke, die griechische Stadtstaaten nach siegreichen Schlachten den Göttern gestiftet haben.
Im vorliegenden Band wird die Sitte der Waffenweihungen in der griechischen Welt zwischen Sizilien und Zypern zusammenfassend untersucht. Mehr als 130 Heiligtümer mit Waffenfunden bilden die Basis der Auswertung, in die auch schriftliche und epigraphische Quellen Eingang gefunden haben. Somit wird der Band zum umfassenden Kompendium einer wichtigen Votivsitte der griechischen Antike.

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Andrea Babbi · Uwe Peltz

La Tomba del Guerriero di Tarquinia

Identità elitaria, concentrazione del potere e networks dinamici nell'avanzato VIII sec. a. C.

Das Kriegergrab von Tarquinia

Eliteidentität, Machtkonzentration und dynamische Netzwerke im späten 8. Jh. v. Chr.

Il volume raccoglie i risultati di un'analisi sistematica e multidisciplinare. I numerosi dettagli formali, stilistici e tecnologici illuminano le dinamiche di formazione dei »circle(s) of identity«, le strategie di negoziazione e resistenza culturale, e i codici di rappresentazione del potere e le forme di scambio, esistenti in area medio-tirrenica nel corso dell'VIII sec. a.C.
Si delinea così il complesso fenomeno di glocalizzazione e transculturalità che presiedette al processo formativo di un'intraprendente classe dominante messa alla prova da una radicalizzazione delle competizioni sociali locali, e al contempo importante protagonista del »network« di contatti esistente tra l'Oriente e l'Occidente mediterraneo.

Dieser Band enthält die Ergebnisse der systematischen und interdisziplinären Auswertung eines frühetruskischen Grabfundes aus Tarquinia. Detailliert wurden Formen, Stil und Technik der Beigaben untersucht. In ihrer Vielfalt geben diese Befunde tiefe Einblicke in die Entstehungsprozesse und Dynamik der »circle[s] of identity«, in ihre zwischen Austausch und Abgrenzung oszillierende Positionierung gegenüber anderen Kulturen, in die Zeichen ihrer Machtrepräsentation sowie in die Handelsbeziehungen im Tyrrhenischen Meer und in Mittelitalien im 8. Jh. v. Chr.
Daraus resultiert ein faszinierendes Panorama früher Glokalisierung und kulturellen Austauschs. In diesem Klima formierte sich eine herrschende Klasse, die einerseits durch immer schärfere soziale Konkurrenz auf lokaler Ebene herausgefordert wurde, andererseits auf dem Parkett der internationalen Beziehungen zwischen westlichem und östlichem Mittelmeerraum eine wichtige Rolle spielte.

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